

## Message Text

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR UNSC XF

SUBJ: USSR AND US IN ME: UNEF AND UNTSO

SUMMARY. ACCCOMPANIED BY AMB SCHAUFEL AND POLCOUNS, I MET WITH AMB MALIK, AMB SAFRONCHUK AND OVINNIKOV AFTER SC MEETING NIGHT OF OCT 26. MALIK FROM OUTSET TOOK AGGRESSIVE TONE AND SEEMED TO MAKE POINT OF MIXING CONSIDERATION OF UNTSO AND UNEF MATTERS TO EMPHASIZE DGREEE TO WHICH SOVS REGARD THEM AS ASPECTS OF SINGLE QUESTION. NO FINAL UNDERSTANDINGS WERE REACHED ON COMPOSITION OF EITHER UNEF OR UNTSO.

END SUMMARY.

1. MALIK REFERRED BROADLY TO PRES NIXON'S PRESS CONFERENCE REFERENCES TODAY TO US WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN UNTSO. HE PROFESSED TO INTERPRET PRESIDENT'S POSITION AS RESPONSIVE TO SOV DISPATCH OF 70 OBSERVERS TO CAIRO. I DREW HIM UP SHORT ON THIS. I SAID WE WERE PREPARED TO SEE A SMALLER NUMBER OF SOVS (TO BE MATCHED BY EQUAL NUMBER OF AMERICANS) COMPLETELY INTEGRATED INTO UNTSO, WITHOUT ANY SPECIAL RIGHTS OR DISTINCTIONS. MALIK IMMEDIATELY RAISED ISSUE OF BALANCE, ASSERTING THAT MORE THAN HALF OF UNTSO PERSONNEL COMES FROM NATO COUNTRIES. I TOLD MALIK THAT OVERALL BALANCE WAS SYG'S PROBLEM AND SUGGESTED WE TALK ABOUT BALANCING USSR AND US ELEMENTS. MALIK ASKED WHAT "SMALLER" NUMBERS OF US AND SOV PERSONNEL WE WERE THINKING OF FOR UNTSO. I SAID 15 OR 20.

2. MALIK REACTED STRONGLY, SHOUTING "NOT FAIR, NOT FAIR"  
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HE REFERRED AGAIN TO NATO TILT OF PRESENT UNTSO MEMBERSHIP AND BEGAN REPEATING THEM US HAD ALWAYS DOMINATED PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN FIRST 28 YEARS OF UN. AS "COM-PROMISE", MALIK SUGGESTED THAT A FAIR ARRANGEMENT THAT WOULD TEND

TO BALANCE UNTSO WOULD BE TO AUGMENT IT WITH 40 AMERICANS, 40 SOVIETS, 10 BYELORUSSIANS AND 10 UKRAINIANS.

3. I COUNTERED BY SUGGESTING THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF NO MAJOR POWER PARTICIPATION, AS DEFINED IN SC RES 340, BE APPLIED TO UNTSO. MALIK AGAIN CRIED FOUL, REFERRING TO "ALL THOSE NATO TYPES" IN UNTSO. HE WENT ON TO EXPRESS INDIGNATION THAT US HAD "TWICE SPOKEN TO WALDHEIM" AGAINST PARTICIPATION OF A POLISH CONTINGENT IN UNEF. HIS RHETORIC MOVED BACKWARD ABOUT 10 YEARS AS HE DECRIED US "PRESSURE" AND "DICTATION" TO SYG. MALIK'S VOICE ROSE ANOTHER OCTAVE AS HE DENOUNCED MRS. MEIR'S "ARROGANT AND UNJUSTIFIABLE" ASSERTION THAT SHE WOULD ACCEPT NO COMMUNISTS AND NO REPRESENTATIVES OF COUNTRIES NOT HAVING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL IN UNEF UNITS ON ISRAELI SIDE OF CEASEFIRE LINES. WHAT RIGHT DOES SHE HAVE, MALIK ASKED, ESPECIALLY WHEN SHE IS NOT EVEN TALKING ABOUT ISRAELI TERRITORY.

4. I ASKED WHICH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES MALIK WOULD SUGGEST FOR PARTICIPATION IN UNEF. MALIK REPLIED THAT POLAND, CZECHO-SLOVAKIA AND BULGARIA HAVE VOLUNTEERED. I ASKED WHAT MALIK THOUGHT OF THE IDEA OF HAVING NEITHER WARSAW PACT NOR NATO COUNTRIES REPRESENTED IN UNEF. MALIK PRODUCED WHAT PURPORTED TO BE INSTRUCTIONS FROM MOSCOW AND READ ALOUD LANGUAGE TO EFFECT THAT US REWRITE OF OP PARA THREE OF SC RES 340 WAS PART OF US EFFORT TO INTRODUCE ANTI-SOCIALIST BIAS INTO UNEF. FOR 28 YEARS US HAD BEEN MASTERS OF ALL UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS. THIS WAS NOT JUST. OUR PROPOSAL TO ELIMINATE NATO AND WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES WAS CONTRARY TO SC RES 340. SOVS HAD AGREED TO 340 TO AVOID DEBATE. MALIK CLAIMED HE HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN TEMPTED TO VETO OUR AMENDMENT TO PARA THREE BUT HAD RECOMMENDED TO MOSCOW THAT SOVS VOTE "YES" TO AVOID CONFRONTATION WITH US. MOSCOW HAD AGREED. MALIK ASKED HOW MANY COUNTRIES SYG WOULD INVITE TO PARTICIPATE IN UNEF. WITHOUT WAITING FOR AN ANSWER, HE DECLARED THAT HIS SIDE HAD CONCEDED ON RES 340 AND IT WAS NOW US TURN TO MAKE CONCESSION.

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5. I TRIED AT THIS POINT TO INVOKE IMPLICITLY A LITTLE OF THE DETENTE SPIRIT. I ASSERTED THAT WE HAD MET TONIGHT FOR A FRIENDLY DISCUSSION PRECISELY IN ORDER TO AVOID CONFRONTATION LATER. PAST PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS NOT ALWAYS HAVING BEEN SUCCESSFUL, WE WANTED TO REMOVE ANY ELEMENTS THAT COULD CAUSE CONFRONTATION OR ENMITY BETWEEN US AND USSR BECAUSE WE WANT THIS PEACEKEEPING OPERATION TO WORK. I SUGGESTED WE LOOK AT PRESENT PROBLEMS ON THEIR OWN MERITS AND NOT REGARD QUESTION OF WHO HAD MADE MOST RECENT CONCESSIONS AS SUBSTANTIALLY RELEVANT. I SAID I THOUGHT MAJORITY OF UN MEMBERSHIP WOULD BE HAPPY TO EXCLUDE BOTH WARSAW PACT AND NATO COUNTRY PARTICIPATION IN UNEF.

6. I WENT ON TO SUGGEST A COMPROMISE ON THE NATO-WARSAW PACT BALANCE. WHAT ABOUT NORWAY AND ROMANIA? MALIK AGAIN RAISED HIS VOICE. I WAS TRYING TO DICTATE, WAS MYSELF REPRESENTING DICTATE OF MRS. MEIR, WAS TRYING TO CHOOSE BOTH NATO AND WARSAW PACT REPRESENTATION. US HAS MORE INFLUENCE ON SYG THAN SOVS. "YOU SAY YOU SEEK PEACE AND MAKE INCREDIBLE CLAIM THAT INCLUSION OF POLAND IN UNEF NOT GOOD FOR PEACE" HE AGAIN ALLUDED TO FACT WE HAD COMMUNICATED TO SYG (RE POLAND) WITHOUT CONSULTATION WITH SOV MISSION. I TOOK OPPORTUNITY TO NOTE, FIRMLY BUT WITHOUT SHOW OF HEAT, THAT SOVS HAD SENT THEIR SO-CALLED PEACE OBSERVERS TO CAIRO WITHOUT CONSULTING US OR INDEED ANY MEMBER OF SC OR SYG. AT THIS POINT I SUGGESTED WE MIGHT DO WELL TO SLEEP ON OUR EXCHANGE OF VIEWS.

7. COMMENT: MALIK WAS IN MOOD FOR TOUGH BARGAINING AND WAS PROBABLY BOTH FOLLOWING INSTRUCTIONS AND REFLECTING HIS OWN FEELINGS. I THINK WE SHOULD STAND FIRM ON OUR PROPOSAL THAT UNTSO RECEIVE ONLY 15 OR 20 SOVS AND AN EQUAL NUMBER OF AMERICANS. THEY MAY GIVE ON THIS ONE. I AM LESS CERTAIN ABOUT UNEF.

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